2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

family life. Traditionally, the married son continues to live with his father until the next son marries, after which the older son may set up his own house or at least establish his own kitchen. However, the present tendency in the village is for the young couple to become independent as soon as possible, often after one or two years. In fact, many of the younger generation would prefer to set up their own house immediately after marriage and those who have the wherewithal do so. The majority of the cases under Type II and all in Types III and IV are multiple families each with their separate kitchens and separate budgets.

Although residence is preferably patrilocal, there are twenty-six cases of married daughters living with the parents. About one-third of these cases include the daughters' husbands, the others are either widows, abandoned wives, or women who have separated from their husbands. There are only eight families in which more than one married son and daughter continue to live with their parents, again indicating the few cases of large extended families living together. Cases of married siblings living with their families are also few.

Because of the absence of the custom of renting houses, it is unusual to find unrelated families living on the same house site. The five cases indicated in Table 11 were those in which an unused house on a house site was loaned to a family or a newly wed couple without a home.

Under "Miscellaneous Composition" we have included those cases which did not fall under our classifications. A variety of types are covered by this category. For example, cases of an old widowed brother and sister; a widow and son plus the family of her deceased husband's nephew; parents with the first and second wives of their dead son and his children, with a widowed daughter, and with a daughter separated from her husband.

THE FAMILY AS AN ECONOMIC UNIT

In Tepoztlán, as in most peasant societies, the family is the basic cooperative unit of production, and each member is expected to contribute to its support and welfare. The biological family seeks to be independent and self-sufficient. There are no institutionalized day-to-day cooperative endeavors between families, and normally little aid is given or received. Nevertheless, some mutual assistance between families exists in the form of borrowing and labor exchange. For example, a man who owns a small parcel of land but no plow-oxen may arrange to work as a *peón* for an uncle, brother, *compadre*, or neighbor, in exchange for the plowing of his own land. But there is a minimum of such cooperation, for Tepoztecans are essentially individualists.

Most work, whether it be agriculture, trade, or some special occupation, is carried on individually rather than cooperatively. Even within the family the division of labor is such that each individual does a separate task instead of working together on the same task. For example, the mother may do all the marketing, one daughter may wash all the clothes, another daughter may grind all the corn. Although such a division of labor may seem quite natural, it contrasts with that

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

In anger Tepoztecans frequently throw stones at an offending person or animal. If a man is not pleased with his food he may throw it to the ground. Some women throw household objects in a fit of temper. Small children express rage in temper tantrums; and fighting among children, particularly boys, sometimes occurs in the absence of adults. Assault and murder also occur from time to time.

Fighting or attack is rarely the result of a direct challenge but may occur if two enemies meet when drunk or when one is ambushed by another. There is no tradition of giving warning or a "sporting chance"; rather, the victim is generally taken unaware, preferably under cover of darkness. A man may be beaten, shot, or fiercely slashed with a machete. Often the aggressor hits and runs without pausing to ascertain the condition of the victim. Several men, principally *políticos*, bear scars from such attacks. Men in positions of wealth, power, or authority habitually carry a gun for protection and prefer not to venture out at night. The authorities generally are unable to apprehend the culprit, who flees the village for a time.

Viewed historically, revolutions, civil wars, and political upheavals have offered a major outlet for direct aggression. It must be noted, however, that militarism and the glorification of the soldier are not Tepoztecan ideals. The history of the Revolution of 1910-20 in Tepoztlán reveals much bickering and feuds and a great deal of killing for reasons of envy and the seeking of power. Tepoztecan generals and other leaders were killed by jealous rivals within their own ranks as much as in battle.

How do Tepoztecans seek security in this environment? Security is sought first and foremost through the economic independence of the biological family. Work, industry, and thrift, for the purpose of accumulating property in land and animals, are the highest, most enduring values in Tepoztlán. To be able to provide the family with food, clothing, and shelter is the only real assurance against want or interference. To many, hard work becomes an end in itself. So long as a man devotes his time and powers to work, he feels secure and blameless; he judges his worth by the amount of his labors, rather than by what he produces. Thus, Tepoztecans frequently say that all is well even though they eat only *tortilla con sal*.

The absolute emphasis upon the need to work and the brutalizing, isolating nature of the farmer's work have far-reaching effects on his personality and his relations with others. One of these effects is to make him an individualist with faith in his own power alone and with reluctance to seek or give economic aid, to borrow or lend, or to cooperate with others in public and private enterprises.

On the other hand, economic independence and individualism do not preclude certain loyalties, identifications, and reciprocities with others, but rather make these imperative for survival. Loyalty and cooperation within the biological family is a necessary adjunct to individual independence. Without a family to back him up, the individual stands unprotected and isolated, a prey to every form of aggression, exploitation, and humiliation known in Tepoztlán. The fate of lone widows and of orphaned or fatherless children is generally a sad one, even when the extended family offers help. Although the role of the extended family in protect-

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

general observations on the life cycle: 20

121 The questions with which we are here concerned are as follows: (1) What, in summary, are the general qualities of inter-personal relations in Tepoztlán? In other words, what is the Tepoztecan social character? (2) How are the adult attitudes and value systems of Tepoztecans reflected in child training patterns? (3) To what extent does the training of children in Tepoztlán prepare them for adult life? (4) What are the conflict points and inconsistencies in this culture, and how do they affect the lives of men and women?

157 As we have seen, Tepoztecans value hard work, thrift, practicality, restraint, submission to authority, and the ability to conform. In inter-personal relations, [181] Tepoztecans are detached, individualistic, and sensitive to status differences, with a generalized readiness to be suspicious, negativistic, and even hostile. Gossip, complaint, envy, and criticism are common. Tepoztecans are a constricted people, as seen in their lack of warmth and limited expression of affection, in their attitudes toward sex, and in their general absence of self-expression. Fantasy, imagination, and creativity are at a minimum; although Tepoztecans are turned within themselves, they are not dreamers. They are an indirect people; they frequently rely upon the use of intermediaries and upon formality. Deception also is a sanctioned form of indirection, and the direct expression of aggression is strongly discouraged. Competition between individuals is rare. When competition occurs, it is between groups, thereby giving it a quality of impersonality. Finally, the aspiration level of most Tepoztecans does not place an undue burden on them and does not lead to any marked anxiety.

155 The patterns of child training in Tepoztlán reflect many of the attitudes and value systems noted above. One of the underlying principles in child rearing is to develop children who are easy to control. Submissiveness, quietness, passivity, and dependence are all encouraged; activity, aggression, demanding, self-gratification, curiosity, and independence are discouraged. This is manifested in the long nursing period, in swaddling and restricting the movements of the child, in the belief that the child must not cry, in the absence of preoccupation with training the child to walk, talk, eat alone, and develop sphincter control.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

was first conquered by the Toltecs and later by the Aztecs, and with each conquest came new influences, new religious ideas, and new customs. 114 121

Another example of non-urban factors in culture change can be seen in the case of Tepoztlán and other parts of Latin America, where the introduction of rural culture elements was at least as far reaching in effect as any changes brought about by later urban influences. Similarly, we find that the Mexican Agrarian Revolution (particularly in its Zapatista phase) was a profound influence for change, but can hardly be classified as an urban influence. It is evident that the folk-urban continuum concept deals with only one of a wide variety of situations which may lead to culture change.[8] In the case of Tepoztlán, to study the urban factors alone would give us only a partial picture of culture change. 177 369

(2) It follows that in many instances culture change may not be a matter of a folk-urban progression, but rather an increasing or decreasing heterogeneity of culture elements. For example, we have seen that the incorporation of Spanish rural elements, such as the plow, oxen, plants, and many folk beliefs, did not make Tepoztlán more urban, but rather gave it a more varied rural culture. The introduction of plow culture in Tepoztlán did not eliminate the older system of hoe culture but gave the Tepoztecans an alternative and, in some ways, more efficient method of farming, making for greater heterogeneity in the economic life and in the forms of social relationships.

(3) Some of the criteria used in the definition of the folk society are treated by Redfield as linked or interdependent variables, but might better be treated as independent variables. Sol Tax, in his study of Guatemalan societies, has shown that societies can be both culturally well organized and homogeneous and, at the same time, highly secular, individualistic, and commercialistic.[9] He has also shown that inter-personal relations in a small and homogeneous society can be characterized by formalism and impersonality. His findings are supported by our Tepoztecan study. Moreover, our study shows other possible combinations of variables. Thus, whereas Tax found family disorganization as a concomitant of commercialism, in Tepoztlán the family remains strong, and there is little evidence of family disorganization. Moreover, collective forms of land tenure exist side by side with private land ownership and individual working of the land. 114 121 182

(4) The typology involved in the folk-urban classification of societies tends to obscure one of the most significant findings of modern cultural anthropology namely, the wide range in the ways of life and in the value systems among so-called primitive peoples. The folk society as used by Redfield would group together food-gathering, hunting, pastoral, and agricultural peoples, without distinction.[10] Simi- 114 121

[8] Becker's recent elaboration of his sacred-secular dichotomy, each with numerous subtypes, gives us a much broader typology embracing a wider range of culture change situations. Howard Becker, "Sacred and Secular Societies," *Social Forces*, Vol. 28, No. 4 (May, 1950), pp. 361–75.

[9] Tax, "Culture and Civilization in Guatemalan Societies," *Scientific Monthly*, XLVIII (May, 1939), 463–67; and "World View and Social Relations in Guatemala," *American Anthropologist*, 43 (1941), 22–42.

[10] To apply the term "folk society" to high cultures like that of the Aztecs (Tepoztlán was [181]

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

114 121 larly, it would put into one category societies which are as different culturally and psychologically as the Arunta and the Eskimo, the Dobu and the Ba Thonga, the Zuni and the Alorese, the Dahomey and the Navaho. Indeed, one might argue that the folk-urban classification is not a cultural classification at all since it rides roughshod over fundamental cultural differences, i.e., differences in the ethos of a people. The point is that the attitudes and value systems of folk societies may resemble some urban societies much more than other folk societies. For example, the individualism and competitiveness of the Blackfoot Indians remind one much more of American urban value systems than those of the Zuni.[11] This suggests that the critera used in the folk-urban classification are concerned with the purely formal aspects of society and are not the most crucial for cultural analysis.[12]

What has been said of the folk end of the folk-urban formula applies also to the urban end. Focusing only on the formal aspects of urban society reduces all urban societies to a common denominator and treats them as if they all had the same culture. Thus Greek, Egyptian, Roman, Medieval, twentieth-century American and Russian cities would all be put into the same class.[13] To take but one example, there are obvious and significant differences between American and Russian urban culture, and in all probability these two "urban influences" would have a very different effect upon a preliterate society exposed to them.

It should be clear that the concept "urban" is too much of a catchall to be useful for cultural analysis. Moreover, it is suggested here that the question posed by Redfield, namely, what happens to an isolated homogeneous society when it comes into contact with an urbanized society, cannot possibly be answered in a scientific way, because the question is too general and the terms used do not give us the necessary data. What we need to know is what kind of an urban society, under what conditions of contact, and a host of other specific historical data.

(5) The folk-urban classification has serious limitations in guiding field research

[181]

part of this high culture area) and at the same time to apply it to simple food-gathering peoples like the Shoshone, robs the term of much of its discriminatory value. Also, to write of a "folk element" in Tepoztlán in 1926 (the so-called *tontos*) as if it were identical with the folk element of the pre-Hispanic days neglects all the cultural influences to which this element had been subjected in the intervening four hundred years and blurs many distinctions which have to be made.

[11] Becker makes a similar observation that "primitive" societies may readily approximate the secular rather than the sacred type of society. He cites the Comanche as an example.

[12] Herskovits has made a similar point in his criticism of the folk-urban classification. He wrote, "In such systems [of classification] the orientation is in terms of categories based on form, rather than problems phrased in terms of process." Melville J. Herskovits, *Man and His Works* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1947), p. 607.

[13] Herskovits, using African materials, has made a similar criticism. "It is also to be noted that in discussions of the folk society, African data are nowhere taken into account. In West Africa, however, many urban communities are to be found that range from one hundred thousand inhabitants [the approximate size of Merida, Redfield's Yucatán "city"] to over three hundred and fifty thousand. These populations have complex specialized economies exhibiting, as we have seen, the use of money and the presence of profit motivation. Yet in these cities relationships are as personal as in any 'folk society' and religion is the focal aspect of the culture. In short, here we have an anomaly—an anomaly, that is, in terms of the concept of the folk society—of urban, *sacred*, communities." *Ibid.*, p. 606.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

because of the highly selective implications of the categories themselves and the rather narrow focus of problem. The emphasis upon essentially formal aspects of culture leads to neglect of psychological data and, as a rule, does not give insight into the character of the people. We have already shown how this approach has influenced the selection, interpretation, and organization of the data in Redfield's study of Tepoztlán.

(6) Finally, underlying the folk-urban dichotomy as used by Redfield, is a system of value judgments which contains the old Rousseauan notion of primitive peoples as noble savages, and the corollary that with civilization has come the fall of man.[14] Again and again in Redfield's writings there emerges the value judgment that folk societies are good and urban societies bad. It is assumed that all folk societies are integrated while urban societies are the great disorganizing force. In his introduction to Miner's St. Denis study, Redfield suggests that the usual view of peasant life "as something to be escaped, an ignominy to be shunned" may be wrong. He finds that the *habitant* of St. Denis has order, security, faith, and confidence, "because he has culture." In another essay ("The Folk Society and Culture" in *Eleven Twenty-Six*), he contrasts the "organization and consistency which gives a group moral solidarity" with "the impaired moral organization of the urban society." Even in his most recent study, which to this writer represents a great departure from his earlier thinking, in that he is less concerned with formalism and categories and more concerned with people, we find the old values reappearing. "Progress" and urbanization now are seen as inevitable, but they are still evil.[15]

Having pointed out some of the limitations of the folk-urban formula let us now

[14] This type of value system is particularly prone to influence the interpretation of whether a given cultural change shall be called disorganization or simply reorganization. Since the concept of disorganization is one of the three key concepts in Redfield's folk-urban hypothesis, it can be seen how directly this value system may affect the interpretation. We are not, of course, objecting to the fact of values per se, but rather to the failure to make them explicit, as well as to this particular value system. Redfield's values suggest what Lovejoy and Boas have called "cultural primitivism," which they define as "the discontent of the civilized with civilization, or with some conspicuous and characteristic feature of it." Arthur O. Lovejoy and George Boas, *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1935), p. 7.

They show that primitivism has existed in various forms throughout the recorded history of mankind. "Of direct, or even indirect, influence of the classical primitivistic tradition there is probably little. But since the beginning of the present century, Western man has become increasingly sceptical concerning the nineteenth-century 'myth of progress,' increasingly troubled with the misgivings about the value of the outcome of civilization thus far, about the future to which it tends, and about himself as the author of it all; and similar doubts and apprehensions found expression two millenia or more ago. In spite of the more complex and sophisticated general ideology of the contemporary exponents of these moods, there are striking parallels to be observed between certain of the texts that follow [i.e., Greek, Roman, and Indian] and some passages in, e.g., such writings as Freud's *Civilization and Its Discontents* and Spengler's *Man and Technics*." *Ibid.*, p. xi.

[15] Redfield writes, "The people of Chan Kom are, then, a people who have no choice but to go forward with technology, with a declining religious faith and moral conviction, into a dangerous world. They are a people who must and will come to identify their interests with those of people far away, outside the traditional circle of their loyalties and political responsibilities. As such they should have the sympathy of the readers of these pages." Redfield, *A Village That Chose Progress*, p. 178.

2;Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

see to what extend the trend of change found in our study of Tepoztlán falls within the categories suggested by Redfield in his study *The Folk Culture of Yucatan*.[10] He postulates that with increased urban influences there is greater disorganization, secularization, and individualization. Taking each separately, we shall consider the family first, as an example of disorganization. Redfield summarized the broad trends of change in family organization as follows:

> As one goes from Tusik toward Merida there is to be noted a reduction in the stability of the elementary family; a decline in the manifestation of patriarchal or matriarchal authority; a disappearance of institutions expressing cohesion in the great family; a reduction in the strength and importance of respect relationships, especially for elder brothers and for elder people generally; an increasing vagueness of the conventional outlines of appropriate behavior toward relatives; and a shrinkage in the applicability of kinship terms primarily denoting members of the elementary family toward more distant relatives or toward persons not relatives.[11]

The first generalization that can be made in the case of Tepoztlán is that, despite the increased city influences in the last seventeen years, the stability of the nuclear family has not been seriously modified. The family remains strong and cohesive, separations have not noticeably increased, and divorce is all but non-existent. The extended family is relatively weak but continues to serve in cases of emergency. This weakness, however, is not a recent phenomenon. Quarrels between husband and wife and wife-beating occur with some frequency, but this too seems to be an old pattern. The tensions and quarrels within families reflect a type of family organization, as well as Tepoztecan personality, but are not necessarily symptoms of disorganization.

Parental authority remains strong in Tepoztlán, despite the elimination of arranged marriages and the increase in elopements. Parents continue to have control over their children, in many cases even after marriage. As we have seen, about sixteen per cent of all house sites are composed of joint families, and about half of these are extended families in which married sons are treated as children subject to the authority of the parents (*hijos de familia*).

Although about fifty per cent of the marriages now begin as elopements, which flout the authority of the parents, the old form of asking for the girl's hand by the

[10] In effect, we are comparing the results of a diachronic study of culture change with that of a synchronic study. Redfield's methodology in *Folk Culture of Yucatan* involved the reconstruction of a historical process from the differential position of four communities on the hypothetical folk-urban continuum. That is, each of the four communities represented a distinct stage in the evolution from folk to urban. It assumed that the communities were similar at some unspecified time in the past, and explained the differences in the degree of secularization, individualization, and disorganization, as a result of urban influences. Redfield had posed a historical problem which he attempted to solve in a non-historical way. In referring to the four monographs on which his book was based, he wrote, "The outlines of historical trends of change . . . might be expected to appear more clearly if carefully prepared histories of local cultures were written. . . . But in none of the four communities studied in the present connection was any systematic effort made to recover the older conditions of the local society by asking informants." Redfield, *Folk Culture of Yucatan*, pp. 341–42.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 63.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

boy's parents continues. In any case, elopements do not lead to disorganization, for most elopements end in marriage, and the couple make peace with their parents. Assuming that elopements are an old trait, as seems to be indicated, here we have a case in which urban influence has intensified an old trait rather than caused its breakdown. Moreover, because Redfield found practically no elopements in Tusik and many elopements in Merida, he associated elopements with urbanism and disorganization. But this assumes what has still to be proved. In Tepoztlán, which is much less urban than Merida, by Redfield's own standards, we find a much higher proportion of elopements than in Merida. Furthermore, in Tzintzuntzan, an even more isolated village, Foster found that ninety per cent of marriages began as elopements. And he cites documentary evidence for the antiquity of this pattern.[18]

The desire of young couples to become independent of their parents and to set up their own homes, which has been indicated earlier, reflects a greater individualism but does not necessarily imply a breakdown in family life. On the contrary, the lesser role of the in-laws and the greater dependence of the husband and wife upon each other, plus the fact that they are each of their own choice, may make for better marriage relations and greater family stability.

Although it is true that some outer forms of respect have been discarded, the fundamental respect status of elders remains. Perhaps the single exception has been the decline in the respect accorded elder brothers. But it is questionable whether the elder brother in Tepoztlán ever enjoyed the special position that he had in Maya society.

We find no evidence for any marked change in the reciprocal behavior of relatives, perhaps because such changes have occurred so far back in history that informants have no memory of them today. As we have said before, the extended family is weak and, so far as we know, has been weak for many generations. The same may be said for the use of kinship terms, which have not changed in recent history. In surrounding villages, which generally conserve older culture elements, kinship terms are used in substantially the same way as in Tepoztlán.

In the examples cited, it is clear that changes have occurred in the village, but these changes do not necessarily imply disorganization. Rather, they involve a new kind of organization or reorganization.[19]

[18] Foster, *Empire's Children*, p. 429.

Beals, in another connection, has also called attention to a pattern of change different from that reported by Redfield. Beals writes, "Cherán, like many Indian communities of Mexico, is increasingly influenced by the town and the city. Nevertheless, the process again seems significantly different from those hitherto described by Redfield. In Cherán there is no distinction of *los tontos* and *los correctos*, mestizo and *indio*, or *ladino* and *indio*, although such may exist in some Tarascan towns with an appreciable mestizo population. Nor does the neat diminishing order of city, town, and village hold in this area. Cherán is probably more influenced by Gary [Indiana, U.S.A.], Mexico City, and Morelia [possibly in diminishing order] than it is by Uruapan and Pátzcuaro. Indeed, it is quite probable that fundamentally Cherán is more progressive, more in touch with the modern world, than is mestizo Pátzcuaro with its conscious idealization of a Colonial past." Beals, *Cherán*, pp. 211–12.

[19] Gross in a recent study has made the same point. He writes, " . . . it should be noted that Redfield's concepts of organization and disorganization are subject to a severe limitation. They

2;Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

114 The second conclusion in the study in Yucatán showed a clear trend toward
121 secularization.

181 The conclusion has been reached that the city and town exhibit greater secularization
771 than do the villages. The principal facts offered in support of this conclusion are . . . the separation of maize from the context of religion and its treatment simply as a means of getting food or money; the increase in the number of specialists who carry on their activities for a practical livelihood relative to those that carry on traditional activities which are regarded as prerogatives and even moral duties to the community; the change in the character of the institution of *guardia* whereby from being an obligation, religiously supported, to protect a shrine and a god it becomes a mere job in the town hall; the (almost complete) disappearance of family worship; the decline in the sacramental character of baptism and marriage; the conversion of the pagan cult from what is truly religious worship to mere magic or even superstition; the decline in the veneration accorded the santos; the change in the novena in which from being a traditional form expressive of appeal to deity it becomes a party for the fun of the participants; the alteration in the festival of the patron saint in which it loses its predominant character as worship and becomes play and an opportunity for profit; the separation of ideas as to the cause and cure of sickness from conceptions as to moral or religious obligation.[80]

114 The data from Tepoztlán does not enable a careful comparison on each of the
121 cited points. However, much of the data is comparable and shows the trend
181 toward secularization noted. The attitude toward corn in Tepoztlán combines both
243 the secular and religious. Certainly corn is viewed as the basic crop, both for sub-
771 sistence and for trade. But the religious aspects have not been entirely lopped off. The corn is still blessed in the church on San Isidro's day, and some families still burn incense in the home and address a prayer to the corn before planting. Some also make the sign of the cross when planting the first seed. Moreover, on the day of San Miguel, crosses are still placed at the four corners of the milpa to ward off the winds. From informants' accounts, it appears that these customs were more widespread before the Revolution. It is difficult to say how much change has occurred since 1926, for Redfield did not report on this subject.

114 The study of occupational changes and division of labor in Tepoztlán showed
121 that most of the old "folk specialists" have continued and even increased in num-
181 ber, side by side with the increase in the new specialists. There were more *curanderos, chirimiteros,* fireworks makers and mask makers in 1944 than in 1926, and there seemed to be every indication that these occupations would continue. The
463 only exceptions are the *huehuechiques,* who must be able to speak Náhuatl, and the *chirimiteros,* who are being displaced by the modern band. However, the rate of increase in what Redfield would call the secular specialists has been much greater than that of the "folk specialists." To this extent the independent findings for

---

114 force the analysis into an organization-disorganization framework and neglect the possibility that
121 there may exist different levels of organization in cultures. . . ." Neal Gross, "Cultural Variables
181 in Rural Communities," *American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. LIV, No. 5 (March, 1948), pp.
348-456.
182 [80] *Ibid.,* p. 352.

2;Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

Yucatán and Tepoztlán agree. But it should be noted that before the Revolution there were more shoemakers, carpenters, saddle makers, and other artisans than in 1926 or in 1944. Were it not that we had specific historical information to explain this phenomenon, we might conclude that with increasing urban contacts there is a decrease in the number of specialists. The reason for this decrease has been, rather, the destruction of many neighboring haciendas which were formerly supplied by labor from Tepoztlán, and the abolition of the *cacique* class which offered a market for the products of the artisans.

In Tepoztlán there does not appear to have been any appreciable decline in the sacramental character of baptism and marriage. At any rate, both are considered important and are standard practices. Despite the legalization of secular marriage, church marriage is still considered the best marriage by most Tepoztecans.

Similarly there is no evidence of any decline in the veneration of the *santos;* the novena continues to be an appeal to the deity rather than a party for fun; the patron saints of the barrios are still regarded as protectors and are worshipped as such. Nor have barrio fiestas become primarily an occasion for profit. In fact, Tepoztecans do not show the marked commercial spirit reported in Mitla by Parsons, and in communities of the Guatemalan highlands by Sol Tax. Unlike Parsons' experiences in Mitla, we were never besieged by questions about the cost of things, nor did we ever witness Tepoztecans haggling among themselves or with strangers.

The third conclusion of the Yucatán study pertains to the trend toward individualization, or individualism as one goes from folk to urban. The specific facts found in the study of the four communities are given as follows:

> . . . . The relative decrease in importance of specialized functions which are performed in behalf of the community and the relative increase of specialties discharged for the individual's own benefit; the development of individual rights in land and in family estates; the diminution or disappearance of collective labor and of the exchange of services in connection with civic enterprises and religious worship; the decreasing concern of the family or of the local community in the making and the maintaining of marriages; the becoming less common of the extended domestic family; the lessening of emphasis and of conventional definition of the respect relationships among kin; the decline in family worship and the disappearance of religious symbols expressive of the great family; decrease in the tendency to extend kinship terms with primary significance for members of the elementary family to more remote relatives or to persons unrelated genealogically; the increasing vagueness of the conventional outlines of appropriate behavior towards relatives; the change in the nature of the marriage and baptismal rites so as less to express the linkage of the families and more to concern the immediate involved individuals only; the decline in relative importance of the santo patron of the local community; the suggested relation of the increase in sorcery to the separation of individuals, especially of women from the security of familial groups."

Some of the items listed above were also listed under the categories of disorganization and secularization and have been treated earlier. The development of

" *Ibid.*, p. 355.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

individual rights in land may date back prior to the Spanish Conquest. Cortés and his heirs owned land in Tepoztlán and rented it out to Tepoztecans as early as 1580. In the past twenty or thirty years there have been no changes in the direction of the private ownership of the communal resources. The persistence of the communal resources, which still accounts for over eighty per cent of all the area of the municipio, is impressive.

The trend toward the breakdown of collective labor is seen clearly in Tepoztlán, particularly in connection with the difficulty in getting barrio members to turn out for the plowing and planting of the barrio fields. In 1947, three of the barrios had rented out the land and used the rental for the barrio. On the whole, many of our findings for Tepoztlán might be interpreted as confirming Redfield's more general findings for Yucatán, particularly in regard to the trend toward secularization and individualization, perhaps less so in regard to disorganization.

CULTURE CHANGE IN TEPOZTLÁN

Let us now depart from Redfield's formulation and analyze the changes in Tepoztlán in terms of concrete historical occurrences and their patterns. For this purpose, the history of culture change in Tepoztlán may be divided into three major periods, each with its distinctive characteristics. These periods are (1) from the Spanish Conquest to about 1910; (2) from 1910 to about 1930; (3) from 1930 to the present. The great differences in the lengths of each of these periods correspond, to some extent, to the different rates of change characteristic of each. Furthermore, each period is characterized by changes of a different order.

During the first period, change was on the whole gradual but far-reaching, touching all aspects of life from material culture and technology to social organization, economics, and religion. The changes during this period were the result of outside influence and consisted of the transformation of the culture by the super-imposition of Spanish culture, consisting of both urban and rural elements, on the native culture, with a resultant fusion of the two. During the second period, the changes were caused by a combination of external and internal factors, and changes were more rapid and violent, affecting primarily the social and political organization. The third period was in a sense a continuation of the second, with the changes primarily in the fields of communication, literacy, education, consumption patterns, and values, and with economics, social organization, and religion remaining quite stable. On the whole, but particularly in the field of material culture, the new culture elements in all periods did not supplant but were added to the old, making for a richer and more heterogeneous culture.

FROM THE CONQUEST TO 1910

This period can be divided into two sub-periods: one, from the Conquest to 1810, the colonial period; and two, from 1810 to 1910, the end of the Díaz regime.

The effects of the Spanish Conquest and of Spanish influence during the colonial period were extremely complicated and included both destructive and constructive

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

who had need of Spanish in their dealings with the outside. The peasants traded among themselves and with the Náhuatl-speaking people of near-by villages. With the change in the class structure, the equalizing of opportunities, the greater contacts with the outside, and the increase in school attendance after the Revolution, the use of Spanish has increased.

It is on the psychocultural level that we find the greatest stability and continuity with the past. The reader who is familiar with the ethnographic literature of Middle America must be impressed with the many similarities in the general quality of inter-personal relations in Tepoztlán, and those reported from more isolated Indian communities in Guatemala. Among some of the similarities are the great value placed on work, the strong ties to the land, the view of farming as the ideal occupation, the persistence of an almost tribal localism, the stability and strength of the family, the continued belief in *los aires, mal ojo,* El Tepozteco, and herbal remedies.

In reviewing the history of cultural change in Tepoztlán since the Spanish Conquest, it is apparent that there is no single formula which will explain the whole range of phenomena. The period of the Spanish Conquest is an example of forced acculturation in which the direction of cultural change was in large measure determined by the conqueror rather than the conquered. The motives of Cortés, who controlled Tepoztlán and the surrounding villages, were to secure Tepoztecan labor for his mines and haciendas and obtain wealth in the form of taxes. He was not concerned with reorganizing Tepoztecan society and certainly was not interested in raising the standard of living. His policy was to interfere as little as possible with native beliefs and practices, except where they directly threatened his interests. As we have seen, he continued the tax system of Moctezuma; he did not alter the native boundaries; he left the Tepoztecans most of their communal lands, taking only the best portions.

It should be noted that many of the traits, such as religion, the calendar, the new system of weights and measures, were essential to the interests of the conquerors. In some cases, the Indians were specifically prohibited from taking on Spanish traits; witness the restrictions placed upon the owning of horses and firearms during the colonial period. Mounted and armed, Indians were obviously a threat to the conquerors.

Another important factor which determined the diffusion of Spanish traits during the colonial period was the inter-marriage of Spaniards with native women. The fact that there were no Spanish women, to teach their culinary and other domestic arts, perpetuated the native cuisine, utensils, and kitchen equipment. Similarly, practices of child rearing remained essentially native. However, the Indian women probably learned many Spanish folk beliefs from their husbands.

In other words, the Conquest affected the work of women much less directly than that of men. The men were forced to leave the village for long periods to work in the mines and haciendas, where they learned European agricultural methods and

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

But Tepoztecans have their own problems. Their agricultural resources are limited and of poor quality, their technology is backward, and their productivity low. Less than forty per cent are landowners, and holdings are much too small to support a higher standard of living. Moreover, there is no new land available, since the village is surrounded by other municipios with similar problems. It should be emphasized that, on the whole, Tepoztecans have a profound knowledge of their physical environment and have made as good an adjustment to it as might be expected. They are familiar with the advantages of crop rotation and practice it to the extent to which the size of their landholdings permit. They also know the benefits of letting land lie fallow, but again the majority of families do not have sufficient land to practice it. An ancient form of terracing is used to prevent soil erosion, but this is only partially effective, and erosion continues. Perhaps the most important improvement in agriculture would be the use of commercial fertilizer. Corn production could be doubled in many instances, but the high price of fertilizer makes this a difficult innovation. Irrigation and insect control would also be of great benefit to Tepoztlán.

The prospects of solving the agricultural problems through mechanization are slight. The rough and hilly terrain rules out the use of tractors and the very small size of holdings would make it uneconomical. In fact, even plow culture is becoming a burden because of the increased need of capital. As we have seen, some Tepoztecans are turning to the more primitive system of hillside hoe culture in order to avoid the rising costs of the recent inflationary period. But this system is an anachronism in the modern scene. It is further depleting the communal resources and cannot support an expanding population with a higher standard of living. Although the *ejido* program has helped to relieve the agrarian problem it has by no means solved it in Tepoztlán. It is difficult to see how the standard of living can be appreciably raised in such an environment. As the means of communication improve and the aspirations of the people rise, the move to the city will in all probability increase. That this has not occurred on a larger scale before this is an interesting commentary on the Tepoztecan character. Most of the young people are still quite provincial and fear the dangers of the outside world.

Given the objective limitation of Tepoztecan economy and environment, their history of colonial status over a three-hundred-year period, the instability and chicanery of Mexican politics, and the unplanned and haphazard nature of social change due to urban influence, we can better understand the psychology and world view of the Tepoztecans. It is a psychology of living with problems rather than solving them, of constantly adjusting to difficulties rather than eliminating them.[25]

We have seen that in the increased contact with the outside world in recent years, Tepoztecans have taken many new traits of modern life. They now have Coca-Cola, aspirin, radios, sewing machines, phonographs, poolrooms, flashlights, clocks,

[25] In a recent paper, discussing Indian and Ladino values, John Gillin has suggested that the drive to manipulate and control the environment was more characteristic of the Ladinos than of the Indians. Following this, Tepoztlán would appear to be more Indian.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

177
181

steel plows, and some labor saving devices. They also have a greater desire to attend school, to eat better, to dress better, and to spend more. But in many ways their world view is still much closer to sixteenth-century Spain and to pre-Hispanic Mexico than to the modern scientific world. They are still guided by superstition and primitive beliefs; sorcery, magic, evil winds, and spirits still dominate their thinking. It is clear that, for the most part, they have taken on only the more superficial aspects and values of modern life. Can western civilization offer them no more?